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THE PEOPLE OF CHITRAL : A SURVEY OF THEIR ETHNIC DIVERSITY*

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ONE of the interesting features of Chitral State is its ethnic variety. There are a number of ethnic groups, varying in their population size. Each of the ethnic groups has its own specific culture and way of life. They possess different history, speak different languages and practise different customs. It is, therefore, useful to attempt to describe the behavioural pattern of the various people living in Chitral State. Thus the purpose of this paper is to present a coherent description of the main cultural aspects of the people of Chitral.

KHOW : THE PREDOMINANT GROUP

The majority of the people of Chitral are called the Khow, who make a population of 96,118, including 48,641 Males and 47,477 Females.¹ In their customs, culture, language and other ways of life, the Khow are different from their Pathan neighbours on the south. They are, however, more related to the people inhabiting the valleys of Gilgit Agency, Azad Kashmir, because of their long historical contacts with them.

The Khow, to-day, extend as far as Gupis in Gilgit Agency. According to Biddulph, they used to spread over much larger areas than they occupy now. This he has presumed from the appearance of their name in the ancient 'Kophen' (Kabul River), the Choaspes (Kunar River), the Chois (the combined Swat and Panjkora River) etc.²

The language of the Khow is called 'Khowar' which is spoken nowhere else except in Chitral and by the Khow settlers in Gilgit Agency and certain parts of Pakistan. According to Professor Morgenstierne, "Khowar is an Indo-Aryan language of archaic type..... But it contains, apart from more recent borrowings from Persian, Aryan and Hindi, also loan words from the Pauri dialects, as well as a number of words of Middle Iranian origin. Some words are borrowed from, or shared with Burushaski and Shina, and several of the common words are of unknown origin."³

As far as the origin of the Khow is concerned, they can be divided into two groups :

- 1) The Original Khow, and
- 2) The Later Immigrants who mixed with the Original Khow.

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¹Census of Pakistan, 1961, Census Report of Tribal Areas, Part II, pp.

²John Biddulph ; Tribes of the Hindu Kush ; Calcutta 1880, pp. 160-161.

³G. Morgenstierne ; Names, Languages and Tribes of Chitral, The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition) ; Vol. 2, Fasciculus 23 (London : 1961), p. 31.

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The Original Khow

The Original Khow are of Aryan stock. In the ancient times the region between the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, was inhabited by a people called 'Pisacha'⁴. They were later exterminated or driven out or absorbed by the invading Aryans who came about three thousand years ago from the northern passes of the Hindu Kush and occupied most of their territory between Nuristan (Former Kafiristan) in Afghanistan and Gilgit and Astor in Azad Kashmir. This area was thus occupied by a homogeneous race. But subsequently, as Biddulph suggests, the area was split into two parts "by a wedge of Khow invasion, representing members of a different, but related tribes coming from the north."⁵ Grierson agrees to the above suggestion and further adds that Khowar represents "the language of a later body of Dardic⁶ invaders, akin to the earlier ones".⁷ We are thus led to the conclusion that the Khow, though ~~came~~^{had come} and settled in these valleys later than the first wave of Aryans, belonged to the same race. Whatever differences had occurred in them and in their language were because of their long contacts with the Ghalcha speaking people of the north, before crossing over into Chitral.

These people to-day, form the Original Khow of Chitral and consist of small families scattered in various parts of the state. The interesting thing about them is that their population, instead of increasing, is, to a certain extent, static. In none of the villages can more than four houses of the same family be found. The reason for this would be the circumstances in which they were put. They were subdued and subjugated by the different waves of immigrants and invaders, who not only treated them as their slaves but also seized their belongings, leaving them the bare minimum for sustenance. In such a condition, when a family grew in size, other members had to leave in search of a more reasonable livelihood in some other place, abandoning their properties to the ones remaining behind.

⁴Sir George A. Grierson : Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, Part II ; Calcutta 1919, p. 1.
⁵John Biddulph : Dialects of the Hindu Kush, Journal of R.A.S., London, Vol. XVII, 1885, pp. 133-134.

⁶*Ibid*, Tribes of the Hindu Kush, pp. 157-61; and G.A. Grierson, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-11.

⁷In ancient Sanskrit, Greek and Roman literatures the word 'Dard' has been used for the people inhabiting the whole mountain tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India. Accordingly, the tract is called 'Dardistan' and the languages spoken in the area are generally grouped under 'Dard Group' of Indo-Aryan Languages. The present people are also, sometimes, referred to as 'Dard'. (J. Biddulph; Tribes of the Hindu Kush, p. 155; and G.A. Grierson, *op. cit.* pp. 1-2).

The Immigrants

These include those who came to Chitral in different decades as refugees from the surrounding countries of Badakhshan, Wakhan, Russian and Chinese Turkistan, Gilgit Agency, Dir and Swat states of Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan. Many also came as invaders or as followers or scions of the ruling class who were at first "..... adventitious and sporadic squatters but they made themselves at home subduing, dispossessing and oppressing the existing primitive stock"¹⁸.

These clans and families who came later in spite of their different origins and backgrounds, absorbed themselves into the Original Khow by living in the same villages, intermarriages, adapting Khowar language, Khow customs and other ways of life. The hostile surrounding conditions helped towards this development a great deal by creating a common purpose of defence for these different elements. In later years Islam, which they all had embraced, played an important role as a unifying factor. Thus these people, having ethnologically and historically different backgrounds and consisting of about two hundred different clans and families are one people today and all called the Khow.

Characteristics

The Khow are described as dolicho-cephalic to meso-cephalic, of middle height, fair complexion and well built. The family organization is based on a patriarchal and patrilineal basis. An average family is made up of seven members which include father, mother, sons, their wives and children. In the case of upper class families, the household members reach thirty or more which include father, mother, (or mothers) sons, their wives and children and servants and their families.

The father is the head of the family and the mother plays a role of 'home minister' and is in charge of all the domestic affairs. The division of labour according to sex and age is as follows.

Men are responsible for all agricultural work (except weeding, which is done by women), storing fuel wood, fodder, looking after goats and sheep, marketing, yarning and weaving and other manual work. The women do domestic work such as looking after children, preparing meals, cleaning the house, etc. They also look after the cows and prepare dairy products and help their men in certain agricultural work e.g. watering, weeding, harvesting and threshing. They sew and embroider, which count as important qualifications for a woman. They also help in weeding.

¹⁸R. C. F. Schomberg: *Kafirs Glaciers or Travels in Chitral* (London: Martin, Hopkinson, 1918), pp. 209-210.

¹⁹G. Morgenstierne: *Op. cit.*, footnote, p. 31.

The children in this and all other small tribes, to be mentioned later, work after the age of seven by helping their parents in the fields by taking meals to them or grazing kids or cattle, scaring away birds, and watering the fields.

The most notable characteristic of the Khow is their cheerfulness, fondness of rejoicing and merry-making. They are also good polo players, and keen sportsmen. Though certain writers have described them as "prone to cold-blooded cruelty..... traitors",¹⁰ and ".....lazy.....",¹¹ but the conditions prevailing now do not support these accusations. They are, on the other hand, very hard working and peaceful minded people. The Khow women are experts in certain handicrafts such as embroidery works and weaving woollen materials. Unfortunately, due to lack of patronage, these fabrics are not yet presented to the world outside Pakistan and so the Khow women have so far failed to get their due credit.

There are other tribes, though small in number as well.

Considering the population, the number of small tribes in Chitral is very high. They are ten in number and make a population of 16,726, including 8,840 Males and 7,580 Females. These tribes have immigrated from different surrounding countries of Chitral and have settled in various parts of the country. They speak their own languages and, to a certain extent, observe their own customs. Though all of them, except the Kalash, are Muslims and there is a great deal of mixing and intercourse between them and the Khow, still they have preserved their identity. These tribes are :

1. The Kalash, 2. The Bashgali, 3. The Gowari, 4. The Danni, 5. The Dangarik, 6. The Pathans, 7. The Gojar, 8. The Wokhi, 9. The Bidaklshi or Madaklashti, and 10. The Mundiji.

THE KALASH

This tribe which comprises of about 2,500 souls, inhabits the three side valleys of south western Chitral, which are called Rumboor, Bumburai and Birir. The Kalash are pagans (in their beliefs), primitive in their ways of life and unique in their customs and traditions. They have, strangely enough, succeeded in maintaining their old beliefs and culture in the face of increasing influence of Islam and centuries of domination by alien races. Not only that, they have also been successful in preserving "...the original characteristics of their race"¹² in pure form.

¹⁰Sir G. Robertson : *Story of a Minor Siege* (London: 1890), pp. 9-10.

¹¹Schomberg : *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

¹²B. S. Guha : "Racial Affinities of the people of India", *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, part 3, p. xxi.

Origin

It has now been confirmed through traditions that the Kalash are immigrants but the actual place of their emigration is in obscurity. They themselves claim to have come from a place called Tsiyam, but it is not certain whether by this they mean the country of Thailand which used to be called by that name, or Syria which is also named Sham. However, in the light of certain Kalash festival songs, which describe places of battles between them and the then inhabitants of Chitral, Siiger has been able to trace their route along the River Chitral down to a place called Waigal which is situated in Afghanistan. But in Prof. Morgenstierne's opinion : Tsiyam is situated still further south, but, he also points out that "... Kalash only stayed for a few generations in Waigal...."¹³ Beyond this no information could be obtained. Thus so far we are only able to conclude that the habitation of the Kalash was round about the area between the Lower Bashgal valley and Chagan Sarai (in Afghanistan) before their arrival in Chitral.

Emigration

During the eleventh century of the present era, Subugingin and his son Mahomed of Gazni, the Kings of Kabul, were waging wars against the infidel tribes in the region of Jalalabad and Lughman¹⁴. Those tribes who are now inhabitants of Nuristan (which was formerly called Kufirstan and the people Red Kafirs) in Afghanistan, could not stand these attacks and so had to retreat, pushing back the tribes inhabiting the upper valleys between Lughman and Lower Bashgal. The Kalash who lived in this area could not face the invading tribes and so in their turn invaded the lower parts of Chitral which they occupied as far as the villages of Baranis or Roshun (about thirty miles above Chitral Town). They remained rulers of this part of Chitral for about three hundred years, when in 1320 A.D. they were defeated and subjugated by the Khow who had by then accepted Islam¹⁵.

With the passage of time, the Kalash who remained in the main valley with the Muslim Khow, were greatly influenced by them and so accepted their religion and adopted their customs and language. On the other hand, the Kalash who lived in these valleys and those who later retreated to these areas, were, to a certain extent due to their seclusion and mainly because of the tolerant character of their neighbours, able to continue their old practices. They enjoyed every freedom under the Muslim rulers and remained totally unmolested in their corners. In their turn, they only paid certain special taxes or performed corvee as those in the other tribes who belonged to the lower classes, till the reforms in 1953.

¹³Siiger, H.: *Ethnological Research in Chitral, Sikkim and Assam*: 1956, p. 31.

¹⁴Downes, E.: *Kufirstan*, Lahore, 1873, p. 6.

¹⁵Murtaza, Mirza Ghulam: *Op. cit*, p. 29.

Characteristics

The Kalash are described as Proto Nordic type¹⁶: "The inter-relationship between the Khow and Kalash race is", according to Guha, "very remote". In complexion they are fair but generally darker than the Khow and the Bashgali tribes¹⁷.

The religion of the Kalash is a mixture of idolatry and ancestor worship. They have numerous gods and goddesses who are worshipped by singing hymns, sacrificing goats according to fixed rituals and by spectacular dances in which both men and women take part. Fairies, demons and ghosts of ancestors are also conciliated in similar manner. They also believe in paradise and hell, and consider charity the best way to happiness.

An average Kalash family is the same as in the case of the Khow. Division of labour according to sex is, however, different from the other tribes. In this case men are responsible for looking after animals, preparing dairy products, farming and other outdoor work such as marketing or manual work. Women's duties are bringing in fire-wood, grinding grain, weaving woollen cloth, certain agricultural work, i.e., weeding and watering, looking after children and other domestic work done by Khow women,

The position of women is definitely low as is obvious in many ways. They are not allowed to visit most of the shrines and sanctuaries. They are also forbidden to go to the goat-houses and cannot milk goats and sheep. Women are not even allowed to put their feet between the hearth and the back wall where domestic utensils are kept. They must wash their hands in running water and then stretch to get what they need. If ever by mistake a woman puts her foot in the enclosure then all the articles must be destroyed. Pure and sacred quality is, according to them, ascribed to these places and to guard them from pollution such precautions are taken:

Moreover, women are segregated during their monthly periods and during child-birth. They retire to a house called 'Bashakini' or women's house during these days and confine themselves for seven days in the first case and for forty days in the latter. They are strictly forbidden to do any work during these days or to come out of these houses. No man can pass by these houses which with their surroundings are thought to be impure, and if someone by mistake passes by, he has to offer a sacrifice to make himself pure.

These women are very industrious. They always seem to be doing some job or other. The Kalash men are thought to be good masons, though unfortunately they do not take much advantage of this, and skilful channel builders. They are also,

¹⁶B. S. Guha: *Races of Northern India*.

¹⁷Guha: *Racial affinities of the people of India*, Census of India, 1931, part III, p. xxi.

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though uneducated and totally illiterate, a very intelligent folk. They are also well known for their cheerfulness, wit and generosity. They are fond of dancing and merry making and love their old religion and customs very much. As a suppressed people they are humble in their demeanour, but also friendly.

Their dress is also different from the other tribes. Men wear grey woollen trousers and a black-brown poncho called '*bare*' with a small woollen cap. The women wear black gowns called '*sangach*', with a belt at the waist. The most interesting part of the dress is the head-gear, hanging down the back to the waist, decorated with hundreds of shells and petty trinkets and is called '*kopes*'. The language spoken by the Kalash is called '*Kalasha*' or *Kalashwar*.

THE BASHGALI

The Bashgalis or Shiekhans as they are called by the other Chitralis, live in different parts of Chitral such as: Gohor in the Northern part, Rumboor and Bumborate in North-Western, and Langur-bat in Southern Chitral. Their total number is approximately 2,000.

The Bashgalis are the descendants of those immigrants who were formerly pagans in their beliefs and lived in the Nuristan valleys of Afghanistan. They have been called Red Kasirs by the foreign writers to distinguish them from the Kalash who are also termed Black Kasirs, and the area was named Kasiristan. Their immigration took place in the last decade of the nineteenth century when the forceful conversion of this community was going on under the Amir of Afghanistan. In consequence most of them were converted to Islam but these people took refuge in Chitral and settled in the areas mentioned. They had been practising their old religion until the 1926s after that all of them voluntarily embraced Islam.

The Bushgalis are different from other Chitralis not only in their language, which is called Bushgaliwur, but also in many other respects. An average family is made up of fifteen members which includes father, mother (usually more than one), sons, their wives, children and grand-children. The different generations continue to live together, whereas, in the other tribes the families split up after the death of the father or after the third generation.

Division of labour is quite unique. For example, the duties of women include not only the domestic work but also all the agricultural work. They are practically household slaves and their life is one of incessant labour and trouble. They also do all carrying except such very heaviest which are left for men. Men only plough, in which also a woman's help is needed to steer the ox in ploughing. Men's job is threshing corn, looking after livestock and preparing dairy products.

As is obvious from the above, the women are industrious and work incessantly. That is why the whole economy of the Bashgalis depends on them and those who have much land marry more than one wife. Every wife's share of work and house is separate and the husband stays with them in turn and enjoys their 'hospitability'. The women are wonderfully helpful and kind among themselves and love their husbands devotedly. The men are lazy parasites and pass most of the time chatting. Once they were thought to be the best bowmen in these regions and now that is no more. Their favourite pastime in winter is snow hockey which they play with great zeal and enthusiasm.

THE GOWARI OR ARANDUI

These people, who make a population of about 800, inhabit the southern-most village of Chitral called Arandui which is situated, on the border of Afghanistan. They are further divided into three groups according to their place of origin :

- 1) The Suniardari,
- 2) The Sultanai, and
- 3) The Afghani or Swati.

The first group, Suniardari, immigrated from the Asmar area of Afghanistan and claims to have settled here more than five hundred years ago. The second group also came to settle here from Jalal Abad in Afghanistan about seven generations back. The third one, according to tradition, emigrated from Dir-Swat area in Pakistan twenty generations ago. Later they split into two branches and one of them went further north to settle in the Damul valley.

According to Prof. Morgenstierne's informant, the third group had "....immigrated from Gabar in Bajaur (Dir) in the time of Sultan Azdar Ali, sixteen generations ago. His four sons were expelled by the Pathans, and one of them conquered Arandui from the Catus and settled there...." Further, Prof. Morgenstierne suggests that....a Sultan Haider Ali is mentioned by Babur and if we allow thirty years for each generation sixteen generations would carry us back to A.C.1450, about the time of this prince and of the Pathan conquest of Swat and Bajaur (Dir). The tradition does, therefore, contain a nucleus of truth, and it is quite possible that another brother went further north to Damul....."

All these three groups are now intermingled and speak the same language called 'Gowari-bati' or 'Arandui-war'.

¹⁰Morgenstierne, G.: Gowariball Oslo 1950, pp.5-6.

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THE PEOPLE OF CHITRAL

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The ways of living of the Gowari are very backward compared with the Khow. Human beings and cattle live under the same roof. They are also unfriendly to each other and the most troublesome people in the whole state. Killing each other and stealing each other's property is their day to day practice, so every one lives in insecurity. That is why every precaution is made to safeguard the houses by building high boundary walls around. The houses also have no windows or ventilators except one small hole of six inches diameter in the roof which serves the purpose of letting in light and letting out smoke.

The causes of all this could be traced as follows :

First of all, the settlements of other tribes such as the Gujars and the Pathans who are recent settlers in this area cannot get along with each other. Also new fugitives from Afghanistan who come frequently, make the situation worse as they have to depend mainly on stealing. Old feuds and enmities continue for the generations and the methods of vengeance used are killing or stealing.

The international border line which separates not only the same village, but also the same families and old enemies, plays an important role in this regard. For example, nothing is easier than to kill one's enemy and slip across the border where he would have no fear of law to condemn him.

An average family includes five members, which is composed of father, mother and children. In division of labour they do the same as the Khow, but the only difference is that they have 'gobana' system to look after the stock. For example, a man is employed by the whole village for this purpose for only two months in a year when other villagers are busy with other agricultural work. In the case of the Khow one member of the family is assigned the duty of looking after the stock.

THE DAMALI

These people make a population of approximately 1,500 and inhabit the valley called Damal which is situated about twenty miles north of Arandu on the left bank of the Chitral river. According to their origin, these people are grouped into :

- a) The Shintari, and b) Swatis or Afghans.

The two groups have by adopting the same language and customs and by intermarriages, become mixed and call themselves Damalis after the valley in which they live.

The Shintari claim to be the original or rather the earlier inhabitants of this area. Though not much anthropological research has so far been done on these people, the linguistic investigations by Prof. Morgensuerne give much food for thought. This shows that "the lexicographical accordances of Damali language of the

Damalis} with Khawar (language of the Khaw) and Gowar-bati (language of Gowaris) are relatively few, while those connecting it with Kalasha, and other Kasir languages are more numerous. He further points out the importances of Kasir languages sub-, super-, and adstratum in this language and suggests that "... at least to some extent it (Damia) seems to belong to a form of Kalir" language different from those which exist now. He also puts forward the hypothesis that "this unknown language is the one once spoken by Jashis. At any rate, the morphological structure of Damia shows that it must have existed as a separate language for a considerable period."¹⁹

The Jashis lived in the upper reaches of the Bashgal and in other valleys before the arrival of the present inhabitants of those areas. After the present inhabitants invaded those valleys, as mentioned earlier, in the 11th century A.D., they subdued and enslaved the Jashis. It is tempting to suggest that this group could be fugitives from those people and retired to this secluded valley. The fact that friendly relations between this group and the Kalash, who were also fugitives and occupied most of the part in Southern Chitral, gives support to this idea.

The second group, i.e., the Swatis or Afghans, are a branch of Gowaris, as mentioned earlier, and had settled in this valley. They have now mixed with the previous group.

These people live in scattered houses and only in summer which they spend in upper pastures with their livestock they live in groups. Thus the opportunities of getting together are very few and only on the occasions such as marriages, births and deaths, or during religious festivals. But their relations with one another are, compared with the Gowaris, very friendly and co-operative. They are very backward in education and take no interest in it. Instead of sending their children to the school they rather prefer them to look after the animals. A family generally consists of four members.

THE DANGARIK

It was about six generations ago that these people came and settled in the Ashrat valley. Later they spread to the surrounding valleys of Beori and today they are a population of about 2,500.

The place from which they emigrated is thought to be Chilas in Azad Kashmir. They still speak same old language, Phalura or Dangarik-war, which is the language in Chilas, though it has now a number of innovations "due to the influence of these surrounding languages."²⁰

¹⁹Morgenstierne : Notes on Damali (Oslo 1940), pp. 146-8.

²⁰Morgenstierne : Phalura (Oslo 1941), p. 8.

THE PATHAN

The Pathans have immigrated from Dir, Swat (in Pakistan) and other parts of Afghanistan during the last hundred years. They came here as fugitives due to family troubles, or as traders or as state servants, and then settled. Now they inhabit different parts of the country but their main concentration is in Dioso, Chitral and Mustuj. Besides, they are found in Rashun, Pech Uie (Lut Kuh), Arandu and Damal.

They make population of about 3,000 and all speak Pashtu. More than 85 per cent of them are engaged in trade and control eighty per cent of the state's whole trade.

They are very co-operative and helpful towards each other and ^{their} try ^{their} best to dominate the rest of the population commercially. Though they live in the same village as the Khow they mainly keep to themselves. They also practise marriages among themselves and mainly avoid having close relations especially with the common Khow.

Their family structure is based on conjugal bases, except those whose mainstay is agriculture and who are consanguine, patrilocal type as other Khow. Thus their family includes four members on average, which consists of father, mother and children.

THE GOJAR

The Gojar are originally from Dir, Swat and Hazara Kohistan in Pakistan and have spread in the different parts of Southern Chitral during the last fifty years. Their main concentration is in the Shishi Kuh valley and they are also found in Damal and Arandu valleys. Main occupation of the Gojar is stock raising. As they do not have their own lands and pastures, so they have to take lands and pastures belonging to others, on lease. Except those who are settled in this way, the rest move with animals in search of pastures from place to place according to the seasons of the year. Due to this nomadic and scattered way of life they have no social organization. Their total population, according to the 1961 census report, is 2,910.

THE WOKHI

These people live in the neighbourhood of glaciers on the north-eastern most part of Chitral, called Baroghil. They make a population of about 450.

The Wokhi are immigrants from Wokhan in Afghanistan but there are also two families who have immigrated from Russian and Chinese Turkistan and called Kirgiz and Sirquli, respectively. These two, though, have their own languages, which are Turkish and Tajik but the common language of all is Wokhi (language of the Wokhis).

Baraghil was used as summer pasture before, but during the last fifty years these people have been able to bring so many acres of land under the plough with their hard work and so have started living permanently. Their main occupation is stock raising.

They live in scattered houses and only in the four months of summer they get the opportunity of getting together in the summer quarters. A family is composed of eight members in average, which include father, mother, brother, sister-in-law and children. The elder brother is head of the family. The Wokhis are pleasant and friendly folk and fond of dancing and singing. According to Schomberg, "They seldom speak the truth, because under the conditions of their lives it does not pay to do so. 'Don't quote me' is as much a Wokhi proverb as a Whitehall one. The Wokhi live in one country and have relations in others, so they have to be circumspect. As they cannot learn to hold their tongues, they protect themselves by telling lies."²¹

BADAKHSHIS OR MADAKLASHI

These people live in Madaklasht village of Shishi Koh valley. Originally they belonged to Badakhshan in Afghanistan and came to Chitral about two hundred years ago. It is said that they were ironmongers and were invited by the then ruler of Chitral to make guns for his army. Their total population is now about 1,400. There is not much difference between them and the Khow, but their language, which is old Persian. Their favourite sport in winter is skiing.

YADGHA

They inhabit the village called Parabeek in the Lot-Kuh Valley. They are immigrants from Badakhshan in Afghanistan. There is nothing much to say as the Yadgha people have adopted all the ways of life of the Khow. The only thing they have so far preserved is their language. There are about five hundred of them.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The above tribes form three religious groups: Sunni Muslims, Ismailia Muslims and 'Kafir' or Pagan. The Kalash are as has been mentioned, a Pagan tribe. The small tribes, except the Madaklasht or Badakhshi, and more than two thirds of the Khow belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, while the remainder are Ismaili. The Ismaili inhabit mainly the valleys of the north-east and north-west, while the Sunni Muslims dominate the north-central valleys and the valleys of the lower parts of Chitral. The Kalash inhabit some of the western valleys.

²¹Schomberg: *Op. cit.*, pp. 257-8.

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Islam was first introduced into Chitral through the northern passes of Haroghil and Dorah, by the invaders and other immigrants coming from Badakhshan and Turkistan and other parts. Most of these areas professed, and still profess, the Ismailia sect of Islam. Islam did not, however, enter the Kalash occupied region of the south until the thirteenth century conquest. Thereafter the southern valleys were not only open to settlers from the north but also to immigrants mainly Sunni Muslims, from the south. Later the establishment of the present Sunni ruling family also helped the religion to spread northwards. The Sunni concentration in Mulikhow and Torikhaw tehsils is also ascribed to the missionary activities of a famous Afghan divine, Mulla-i-Room, in the sixteen century.

Those of the Kalash who lived in the main valleys of the south have been influenced by their Muslim neighbours and have slowly accepted their religion (Sunnism). On the other hand those who lived in the secluded valleys have been able to continue their old practices without being molested or influenced by the others.